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Mr. SIDNEY

HIS

SELF-CONVICTION:

Or, his

Dying-Paper

Condemn'd to Live, for a

CONVICTION

To the

Present FACTION,

And a

CAUTION

TO

POSTERITY.

LONDON,
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UMI

Men, Brethren, and Fathers, &c.

Sidney. *IT may be expected, that I ſhould now ſay ſome great matters unto you, but the Rigour of the Seaſon, and the Infirmities of my Age, encreaſed by a cloſe Impriſonment of five Months, doth not permit me.*

Anſwer. Indeed this Gentleman has made a great buſſle in the World; for ever ſince his youth, he profeſſes he has been engaged, in that *horrid Cauſe* of Blood: And it might very well be expected that he ſhould have ſhewn himſelf a Chriſtian, that he ſhould have died in Charity, profeſt his Allegiance, confeſt his Crimes, and prayed for his Proſecutors as his beſt of Friends, in bringing him to condign Puniſhment; which was the moſt probable means to bring him to a ſight of his guilt, and lead him to repentance.

The Rigour of the Seaſon ſhould have prompted him to the ſame ſentiments, in putting him in mind of a much ſharper, which attends all heinous and unrepenting *Criminals.*

And his *Infirmities* ſhould have been ſo many *Monitors* to him, to provide for his laſt Accompt, by wiping off the Scores of his too early Treaſon and Rebellion.

And if his Infirmities were ſo much encreaſed by his five Months *impriſonment*, his Recollection ſhould have been ſo much the greater, that it might have call'd to his remembrance, how many worthy Perſons

he had helpt to ſend to *Goal* and *Slaughter*; and ſhould have taught him a more humble *Reſignation* to the admirable diſcoveries and *Efforts* of Juſtice in ſuch a due *Retaliation*; and have made him more compaſſionate, to ſuch as have been *five Months* twelve times told, in durance, upon (hitherto) inſufficient and dubious Accuſations.

Sid. Moreover, ſaith this Gentleman, *We live in an Age, that maketh Truth paſs for Treaſon: I dare not ſay any thing contrary to it, and the Ears of thoſe that are about me, will probably be found too tender to hear it. My Tryal and Condemnation doth ſufficiently evidence this.*

Anſwer. 'Tis true, he had lived in an Age wherein *Truth had paſſed for Treaſon*, and he was one of the Great Inſtruments that made it *Currant* by his Practice; and therefore of all Men he had the leaſt reaſon to ſay any thing to the contrary; and many Ears, which were about him, were too well inform'd to be deluded by his craſty and malicious Inſinuations; which, that they were falſe and ſcandalous, his *Tryal* and *Condemnation* are ſufficient Evidence to evince.

Sid. Weſt, Rumſey, *and* Keeling, *who were brought to prove the Plot, ſaid no more of me, then that they knew me not; and ſome others equally unknown unto me, had uſed my Name, and that of ſome others, to give a little Reputation unto their Deſign.*

Anſwer. What Deſign was this, but only to unmask their *Conſpiracy?* Which was a *Plot* of ſo black and helliſh a Complexion, that there needed no other Evidence for Mr. *Sidney*'s Condemnation, then a Proof that he was engaged in it; and what clearer Evidence could be expected for a Matter of Fact, then the Atteſtation of *Accomplices*. Theſe Witneſſes were not *ſuborn'd* by *Bribes*, or ingaged by *reſcues* from wants and *beggery*, but inſtigated by conviction of Conſcience, as well as promp-

prompted, by certain knowledge, as *Parties* to the Conſpiracy. 'Tis the *Honeſty* of theſe Witneſſes; the *Uprightneſs* of their Lives; the *Integrity* of their Manners their diſengagement from *Self-Intereſt*, that gives Reputation to their Teſtimony.

Sid. 'Tis objected indeed againſt the Lord *Howard*, that *he is too infamous by his Life, and the many Perjuries not to be denyed, or rather ſworn by himſelf, to deſerve mention; and being a ſingle Witneſs would be of no value, tho he had been of unblemiſht credit, or had not ſeen and confeſs'd, that the Crimes committed by him, would be pardoned only for committing more; and even the Pardon promiſed could not be obtain'd till the Drudgery of ſwearing was over.*

Anſwer. Let us obſerve, how this *Gentleman* prevaricates to ſerve his own turn; he calls their wicked Conſpiracy *God's Cauſe*, and ſuch as were engaged in it, he ſtiles *God's People*, and *the beſt Proteſtants* in *England*. Now I demand, was not my Lord *Howard* for *that* Cauſe? Was not he of that *Party*? Whatever his life might be, we are ſure he was valued by them, when he was of their *Aſſociation*: Then all his Affirmations were *Authentick*; his Life and Manners no impeachment (in their good Opinion) to the carrying on of the *Old Cauſe*, which was their Common *Deſign* of Treaſon and Rebellion. Paper, p. 3.

That he *confeſt* ſo many Crimes againſt himſelf was his Ingenuity; but if they make him unfit to be a Witneſs, what ſhall we think of this Gentleman, who was Partner in the guilt? But that his Lordſhip ſaid his Crimes would be pardoned *only for committing more* is a malicious ſlander; and ſo is the charge of *Perjury*, which he ſuggeſts to blaſt the honour of that Lord's Evidence.

'Tis true, that (as the E. of *Angleſey* has depoſed)

the Lord *Howard* to comfort and ſupport the Earl of *Bedford*, &c. told his Lordſhip, he was not to be troubled, for he had *a diſcreet, a wiſe, and virtuous Son, and he could not be in any ſuch Plot,* —— *That his Lordſhip might expect a good iſſue of that buſineſs, and might believe his Son ſecure*; for *he believed, he was neither guilty, nor ſo much as to be ſuſpected.* He proceeded further alſo, and did ſay, *that he knew of no ſuch Barbarous Deſign, and could not charge my Lord* Ruſſel *with it, or any body elſe.*

Tryal, *p.* 36.

This the Lord *Howard* ſaid, but he did not deliver it upon *Oath*; and if we examine Mr. *Sidney*'s own ſayings, and denials at the time of his *Tryal*, he has ſaid little leſs; and yet he and his friends ('tis probable) would take it ill, if we ſhould call him Perjur'd for it. No Man was ever yet condemn'd, out of his own Mouth, upon words ſpoken at *random*, or uttered occaſionally to *palliate* a ſuſpition. Nor will any ſuch *looſe* diſcourſe paſs for ſufficient Evidence. 'Tis the *legal* and *juridical* Examination and Requiry of the *Magiſtrate*, that gives life and vigour to a *Teſtimony*, and that makes the Lord *Howard*'s evidence in *Court* beyond Exception.

And altho, ſuch circumſtances may ſometimes occur as may make ſuch a task uneaſy, and entertain'd with ſome Regret, yet the Law does require it as a very *neceſſary* and *Solemn* Duty, and ſo it muſt be valued.

There are many caſes, ſaith the *Caſuiſt*, in which it is not only lawful, but neceſſary to *accuſe* the Delinquent. And every Man is *bound* to do it, when the Crimes are ſuch, as do immediately *impeach* the *Publick Good* or mediately redound to a *Publick* Miſchief; or grievouſly afflict or threaten any *Innocent* Perſon; if the damage can no other way be commodiouſly hindred; (and how much more does this oblige, when

Pet. *a S Joſeph. Ameſius*, Caſ. Conſc. *l.* 5. *c.* 54. N. 29.

when the *Publick Good*, and the *Innocent Perſon* are both involv'd in the ſame danger?) The Reaſon is, becauſe, by the Law of *Nature*, (which makes it a part of *Juſtice*) and out of *Charity*, whether toward the *Common-weal*, or towards a *particular* Neighbour, a Man is bound to uſe his utmoſt endeavour, if need requires, to prevent or remove ſuch miſchiefs.

To call this incumbent Duty a piece of *Drudgery*, I confeſs, was but a courſe Title: but 'tis not to be declin'd without a breach of *Charity*, in the general, and in this caſe 'twould have been a breach of *Juſtice* too. And if he be accounted an ill Man, who fails in a duty of Juſtice and Charity toward a Fellow-Subject; then he that ſtubbornly denies theſe Aids to his *Soveraign* (when his *Life* and *Crown* ſo eminently requires them) does detract his *Allegiance*, and in that denial of his duty, he becomes perjur'd and commences Traytor *ipſo Facto*; For the Tenour of his *Allegiance* is this.

I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to His Majeſty, His Heirs and Succeſſors, and Him and Them will defend to the uttermoſt of my Power, againſt all Conſpiracies and Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt His or Their Perſons, Their Crown and Dignity,—— And will do my beſt endeavour to diſcloſe and make known unto His Majeſty, His Heirs and Succeſſors, all Treaſons, and Traiterous Conſpiracies, which I ſhall know or hear of to be againſt Him or any of them.

The *Singularity* of this Lord's Teſtimony does not make it *Null* in it ſelf, tho inſufficient, it ſeems, by a Law, which does not provide ſo fully for the *ſafety* of the King's Perſon and Government, as ſome other Laws have done, for the *Property* and *Intereſt* of the Subject: But *ſuppletory proofs* are allowed by all equal Judges and by all that are Judicious; and this Allowance is no leſs Rational then needful in

caſes

cases of this nature. In certain Crimes, says the *Casuist*, for the proof of which, morally speaking, there cannot be found or expected two Witnesses, as in *Adultery*, *Treason*, and such other works of darkness, other proofs may be sufficient, tho there be not *two Witnesses* to testify the same singular or individual Fact. The Reason is, because as well the Nature of the thing, as the Publick Necessity, does make this exception from the general Rule. [And the *Casuists* in general do tell us further, That not only the *Notoriety* of the Fact, and the *Confession* of the Party, and the contents of *written* Instruments, but sometimes also *vehement and convincing* Presumptions, do obtain the force and supply the Place of a Testimony.]

Ames Cas. Consc. *L.* 5. C. 54. N. 35, 36.

Now, if this were Mr. *Sidney*'s word, his *Conceit* or *Motto* wherein he delighted, upon all occasions, to declare and boast his malice to Sovereign Princes, *Manus hæc inimica Tyrannis*, this hand is an Enemy to Tyrants; if this were the *Cause* wherein he was *engaged from his youth*, if he employ'd his *Time* and *Wit*, his *Pen*, and *Sword*, to propagate and defend the Practice; if he held several *Consults*, and sent *Aaron Smith* into *Scotland* to solicite a *Confederacy* there, and procure aid from thence to that effect, whereof his profound silence in this his last Paper seems to be a tacite acknowledgment) after the Testimony of the Lord *Howard*, and so many *vehement* Presumptions in concurrence with it, what need is there of any *further Witness*? This is more then enough for a *supersedeas* to what Mr. *Sidney* alledgeth further in these words.

Sid. *This being laid aside, the whole matter is reduced to the Papers said to be found in my Closet by the King's Officers, without any other Proof of their being written by me, than what is taken from Suppositions upon the similitude of a hand that is easily counterfeited, and*

and which hath been lately declared, in the Lady Car's *Case, to be no lawful Evidence in Criminals Cases.*

Answer. How much this *Gentlemans* Case differs from my Lady *Car*'s is left to the long *Robe* (whose profession it is) to determine.

But I cannot but observe, tho he would not be charged with those *Papers*, as the *Author* of them, yet he owns the *contents*, which he had at his Fingers end, and were the frequent *Subject* of his Discourse and the *Rule* of his Practice. And rather then they should be lost or buried with him, he thought fit to bequeath them as his last *Legacy*, to all the World, to *Men, Brethren, and Fathers*, and even to *Strangers* as well as to his *Friends, and Country-Men*; so that we may plainly see his *Heart* as well as his *Hand* in the *Contrivance* and *Edition* of them; he adds therefore these words following.

Sid. *If I had been seen to write them, the matter would not be much altered. They plainly appear to relate unto a large Treatise written long since in answer to* Filmer's *Book; which by all Intelligent Men, is thought to be grounded upon wicked Principles, equally pernicious unto Magistrates and People.*

Answer. Whether the Book, he means be Sir *Robert Filmer*'s *Patriarcha*, I cannot tell: But I suppose, therein that learned *Baronet*, has laid down his Principles with no less caution then judgment. And that all *Intelligent* Men do not think of them as Mr. *Sidney* would persuade us, is evident by the Epistle of Doctor *Heylin* prefixed to it, who was esteemed as great a Judge of Books, in his time, as any that Age had bred; Thus he expresses his Judgment of it: *Had he pleased to have suffered his Excellent Discourse call'd* Patriarcha *to appear in Publick, it would have given such satisfaction to all our great Masters in the Schools of* Polity, *that all other Tractates in that kind, had been found unnecessary.*

He

He that reads that excellent *Treatiſe*, with a deliberate Judgment and Sobriety, will not find it to be grounded upon ſuch wicked Principles as is imagined. Mr. *Sidney*, as a skilful *Rhetorician*, might ſay, They are *equally pernicious* to *Magiſtrate* and *People*, when really they are ſo to neither, but highly *beneficial* to them both, where they are duly and well obſerv'd.

Sid. But (ſays Mr. *Sidney*.) If he might publiſh unto the World his Opinion, *That all Men are born under a Neceſſity deriv'd from the Laws of God and Nature, to ſubmit to an abſolute Kingly Government, which could be reſtrained by no Law or Oath; and that he that hath the Power, whether he came unto it by* Creation, Election, Inheritance, Uſurpation, *or any other way, had the Right, and none muſt oppoſe his will, but the Perſons and Eſtates of his Subjects muſt be indiſpenſably ſubject unto it*, &c.

Anſwer. I deſire the impartial *Reader* to peruſe Sir *Robert Filmer's Patriarcha*, and to take his ſenſe in his own words, for his clearer ſatisfaction. Do we not believe, that *of one Blood God hath made all Nations of Men?* Was *Adam* to take his *meaſures* of Dominion from his own *Cradle*? Was he to *conſult* his Children, how they would let him govern them? If he were to enter into *Articles* with his own Poſterity, who was to be intruſted to draw them up? and if he were to take an *Oath* to be juſt and equal to them, who is ſuppoſed to have the Authority to impoſe it?

Acts 17. 26.

When God ſays, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother*, does he not command *Subjection* and *Obedience*? But where ſhall we find the *Limitation*? Why, in this Caſe, the *Law of God and Nature*, which lays a *Neceſſity* upon the duty of the Child does likewiſe put a *reſtraint* upon the Authority of the Parent, and God himſelf who is the Author of Nature, will take an account of it.

That

That there is a *Preheminence* in the Title of *Primogeniture* is out of Queſtion. This was old *Jacob*'s Principle upon his Death-Bed, *Reuben, Thou art my Firſtborn, my Might, and the Beginning of my ſtrength, the Excellency of Dignity, and the Excellency of Power.* This was his *Natural Prerogative*, tho he forfeited it by his *Inceſt*; *Becauſe thou wenteſt up to thy Father's Bed, therefore ſhalt thou not excell*: And *Abel* being the younger Brother, if *Cain* had not murdred him, 'tis clear, he had had Dominion over him; for ſo God tells *Cain*, *His deſire ſhall be ſubject unto Thee, and Thou ſhalt rule over him.* And when God is pleas'd to exalt *David* above all other Princes, how does he confer that *ſuper-eminent* Dignity, but by the title of Primogeniture? *I will make him my firſt Born, higher then the Kings of the Earth.* And God will have liberty to govern the World his own way, in ſpight of Mr. *Sidney*'s Politicks.

Coloſ. 1. 18. Gen. 49. 3. Ib. v. 4. Gen. 4. 7. Pſal. 89. 27.

We acknowledge God's *Prerogative* with a profound Humility and Reverence; *That the Moſt High ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it to whomſoever he will*; That *he changeth the Times and the Seaſons, that he removeth Kings, and ſetteth up Kings.* And yet we never find that he *changed* the Nature and Form of Government upon the miſcarriage of the Governour.

Dan. 4. 32. Dan. 2. 21.

The Pride and Inſolency of *Nebuchadnezzar* was a mighty Provocation in the Eyes of Heaven, and *tranſform'd* him into a Beaſt; yet was not his Kingdom *degraded* into a *Democracy*. Upon his Reſtauration he informs us thus, *For the glory of my Kingdom, mine Honour and Brightneſs returned to me, and my Counſellors, and my Lords ſought unto me; And I was eſtabliſhed in my Kingdom, and excellent Majeſty was added to me.*

Dan. 4. 36.

To take up the exorbitant Practices of turbulent Times, and evil Perſons, is to follow the example of

the moſt wicked Generation of *Scribes* and *Phariſees*; And we may very well anſwer all ſuch *Preſidents*, in the words of Chriſt, *From the beginning it was not ſo.*

A Writing of *Divorcement* is not to be pleaded againſt the *Divine Inſtitution*: And we muſt make a vaſt difference betwixt that which is *tolerated* for the *hardneſs* of mens Hearts, and that which is *warranted* by the *Holy Writ* and the *Pattern* on the Mount.

Sid. But ſays Mr. *Sidney*; (without any reſpect to the worth and quality of that learned *Baronet.*) *If* Filmer *has publiſhed ſuch a Book to the World, I know not, why I might not have publiſhed my Opinion to the contrary.*

Anſwer. The Gentleman is very much miſtaken in this Opinion, for there is no reaſon in the World, that equal liberty ſhould be allowed, to propagate Sedition, and to perſuade Obedience. Becauſe 'tis lawful to have Publick Schools to teach the Arts and Sciences, or the *Doctrine* of the Goſpel, may we therefore plead for the ſetting up of *Academies* to inſtruct Men in Vice and Wickedneſs?

But the Gentleman having ſufficiently inveighed againſt the Book, and Principles of Sir *Robert Filmer*, he comes to write and lays down his own; the firſt whereof is this.

(Sid. 1.) *That God had left Nations unto the liberty of ſetting up ſuch Governments as beſt pleas'd themſelves.*

Anſwer. If there be any ſuch confuſed *Rabble* of abſolute *Independents* to be found, he muſt ſeek for them in *Utopia*, or the *Iſle* of *Pines*; and then, before they can come to an Agreement about their Form of Government (having no Maſter *Bee* in the whole ſwarm, to command) they muſt caſt *Lots*, who ſhall be their

Speaker,

Speaker, who ſhall *call* and *manage* their *Aſſembly*, and who ſhall *diſſolve it*, when (at leaſt if ever they can agree and tell when) their Diſpute and Buſineſs will be ended. Mr. *Sidney* might have made ſhort work of it, if he could have named thoſe Nations, to whom God had left that *Liberty*, and had produced their *Charters* for it. But we are ſure the Children of *Iſrael* met with no ſuch Nations in all their Travels; witneſs that Demand of theirs to *Samuel*, *Make us a King to judge us like all the Nations.* We find no ſuch *exempt* Nations in the Books of *Moſes*, or the *Prophets*; no ſuch in the *Viſions* of *Daniel*, or the *Revelation*; no ſuch among the *Evangeliſts* or the *Epiſtles* of the *Apoſtles*. 1 Sam. 8. 5. Dan. 7. 8.

If God ſhould create a Multitude of Men at once, and by ſome miraculous Gale of Providence, bring them upon a Land in one Night, as he did the ſwarms of *Locuſts* into the Land of *Egypt*; we might well imagine, he would give them as much Sagacity as he gave thoſe *Locuſts*, to gather together into Bands for their own ſafety, tho, at preſent, *they had no King over them.* Exod. 10. 13. Prov. 30. 27.

But that God hath left Nations at Liberty to *throw* off their *Soveraign Rulers*, and to ſet up a *New* Government, after their own luſts; this is that which muſt be well Proved; and they muſt ſhew us an *Authentick Charter* ſign'd from Heaven, that grants them ſuch a Priviledge; otherwiſe, God has taught us to eſteem ſuch a Practice no better then Rebellion.

(Sid. 2.) Mr. *Sidney* ſays further, *That Magiſtrates were ſet up for the good of Nations, not Nations for the honour and glory of Magiſtrates.*

Anſwer. What this Gentleman would infer from hence we may gueſs, tho he has not expreſly told us. The Apoſtle tells us, *the Man was not made for the Woman,*

but the Woman for the Man; has a Man liberty therefore to cut his Wifes Throat? In the ſetting up of Magiſtrates we are to conſider a twofold end; (1.) *Finis Cui*, For whoſe ſake it was ſet up. Doubtleſs it was for Man's ſake: And ſo was Chriſt *incarnate, for us Men, and for our Salvation, he came down from Heaven*; What then? If we like not the Condition of his Empire, and the Adminiſtration of his Government, may we turn *Jews* preſently, and cry out, *Nolumus Hunc Regnare*: We will not have this Man to reign over us?

(2) There is *Finis Cujus*, the End and Purpoſe for which the Magiſtrate is eſtabliſhed; and that is *good Order* and Government; *that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godlineſs and Honeſty*. And if the King's Honour be in the *Multitude* of his Subjects, 'tis much more certainly in their *Vertue* and *Fidelity*.

1 Tim. 2.2.

Prov. 14.28.

And if God ſets not up Magiſtrates for *their* own Glory (which he can never prove: God having declar'd Himſelf in ſeveral inſtances to the contrary *;) yet undoubtedly he does it for his *own*; and his Glory is highly celebrated many times by their exemplary Juſtice.

* Gen. 12. 2. 17. 20. Exod. 32. 10.

'Tis for God's glory that *Achan* ſhould be ſtoned, that ſuch as make *Inſurrections* againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron* ſhould be made a *ſign* or Monument of Terrour to the Seditious; that ſuch as threaten the *Life* and *Safety* of the King, or ſlander the *footſteps* of God's Anointed, ſhould be brought to condign Puniſhment.

(*Sid.* 3.) This Gentleman ſays further, *That the Right and Power of Magiſtrates in every Country, was that, which the Laws of that Country made it to be.*

Anſwer. (1) This is a *Paradox*, and wants a ſolid Proof to make it good. For *what* Laws does he mean? And *when*, and *where*, and by *whom* were ſuch Laws enacted?

enacted? If *such* Laws there be, they must be made, either *before* or *after* the Magistrate was established: If *before*; Then there were *Laws* before there was a *Law-giver*: If *after*; Then, they could not be the Instrument to convey the *Right* and *Power* to the Magistrate, for 'tis supposed, he was constituted and established *before* them.

(2) Upon this Ground we run into an absurd and endless *Circle*, as we charge the *Roman* Catholicks, when they prove the *Infallibility* of their Church by the *Authority* of the Holy Scriptures, and then, the Authority of the Holy Scriptures by the *Infallibility* of their Church. Thus Mr. *Sidney* makes the Magistrate to give *Life*, and *Power*, to the *Law*; and then (that the Law may be out of his Debt,) he makes *it* to give *Life*, and *Power* to the Magistrate.

(3) Such *Laws* (at least if we look home to our own Constitution are but the Instruments of *Recognition* in the Subject, not of *Establishment* to the Prince. Tho he *Accepts* of those Acts of Recognition, and gives his *Fiat* to them, yet his *Right* is *Antecedently* inhærent in Himself, and settled before they are made: Such Laws do not *create*, but *declare* the Authority and Prerogative of the Soveraign; and by them the Subject does not *confer* that Authority and Prerogative, but only *Recognize* and acknowledge it.

(*Sid.* 4.) He says further; *That those Laws are to be observed, and the Oaths taken by them, having the force of a contract between Magistrate and People, cannot be violated without danger of dissolving the whole Fabrick.*

Answer. 1. 'Tis a *voluntary Oath* which the King takes at his *Coronation*; there is no competent Authority to impose it; Hereupon the *Arch-Bishop* does not say to the King, *Thou shalt swear*, but, *Art thou pleased that our upright Laws and Customs be observed*; and the

the Soveraign is King, not by *contract*, but by *Inheritance*, and *Succeſſion*; and yet, I ſay, in Conſcience his *Oath* is to be obſerv'd.

But then we ſhould do well to remember, that the King is obliged by that *Oath*, to defend the Church in *her Eſtate, in her Rights, and Government; and to cauſe his Subjects to conform to her Laws and Diſcipline*; for the *Arch-Biſhop*'s demand is this; *Pleaſeth it you to confirm and obſerve the Laws and Cuſtoms of ancient Times, granted from God, by Juſt and Devout Kings, unto the* Engliſh *Nation, by Oath unto the ſaid People; eſpecially the Laws, Liberties, and Cuſtoms granted unto the* Clergy, *and* Laity, *by the famous* King *Edward*; to which the King anſwers *Affirmatively*. And the firſt Chapter of *Magna Charta* ſays thus: *Firſt, We have granted to God, and by this our preſent Charter have confirmed for us and our Heirs for ever, that the Church of* England *ſhall be* free, *and ſhall have* all *her* whole *Rights and Liberties inviolable.*

(2) Would Mr. *Sidney* and his *Fanatick Party* have the King keep this *Oath* inviolable? No; they would force him to break it; and then fight againſt him, becauſe (as they pretend in other inſtances) he did not keep it. 'Tis not the *Sacred Tie* of his Oath, which they deſire His Majeſty ſhould keep inviolable, (for then they muſt needs, in Conſcience, think their own *Oath* of *Allegiance* binding to themſelves.)

'Tis not what His Majeſty hath ſworn, but only what themſelves would have *done* or *undone*, that they would have him keep inviolable.

By his *Oath* the King is pleas'd to give His People *Aſſurance*, that he will maintain their *upright* Laws and Cuſtoms, and that in all his Judgments *Indifferent and Upright Juſtice* ſhall be adminiſter'd, and that he will uſe *Diſcretion* therein with *Mercy and Verity*. And 'tis

'tis a Maxime of Sir *Robert Filmers*, that a King *governing in a ſettled Kingdom, leaves to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, ſo ſoon as He ceaſes to Rule according to his Laws.*

(3) But becauſe, ſome Laws may be *Inconvenient*, *Rigorous*, and *Doubtful*, and ſome poſſibly may be made in a juncture of Time to ſerve a Prevailing Party, which are not ſo *upright*, as they ſhould be; therefore there muſt be a *Power* ſomewhere not only to *Interpret* and *mitigate* ſuch Laws, but alſo to *ſuſpend*, *alter*, and *repeal* them.

This Power muſt be ſuppos'd to be *above* the Law; and if there could be any *Contract* to reſtrain the Practice of it, the condition of ſuch Subjects would be more miſerable then can eaſily be imagined.

In all contingencies *ſummum jus* muſt be their final *Award* and ſentence; and whatever *misfortune*, *miſtake* or *Paſſion* might be alledged to extenuate and leſſen the Guilt, yet execution muſt be done according to the *Letter* of the Law, in the utmoſt *Rigour* of it; for as Mr. *Sidney*'s Doctrine doth ſuppoſe, the Magiſtrate is under a *contract*, and that muſt not be *violated* for fear the whole *Fabrick* of the Government ſhould be diſſolv'd and overwhelm us in the Ruines of it.

But the truth is. The *Royal*, *Soveraign* or *Supream Magiſtrate* has a Law *Paramount*, which every Wiſe and Gracious Prince impoſes upon himſelf. *Salus Populi Suprema Lex eſto*; the ſafety of the People, that's his great and general Rule; which yet he ſhould never ſuffer to be apply'd but by his own Hand and Judgment. According to this Rule, He has Power, not only to *enact* new Laws, but alſo to *mitigate* or *ſuſpend*, to *Alter* or *Repeal*, all ſuch as ſhall be thought fit to be *Repeal'd* or *Alter'd*, *mitigated* or *ſuſpended*.

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This is the King's *Prerogative* and every Man, at one time or other, ſues to reap the benefit, and is glad to make uſe of it; and this is exactly according to that Law, which the King ſwears to maintain; nor can the Subject be ſafe, or the Government ſtand without it.

(*Sid.* 5.) He ſays, *That Uſurpation can give no Right; and the moſt dangerous of all Enemies unto Kings are They, who raiſing their Power to an exorbitant Height, allow* unto Uſurpers all the Rights belonging unto it.

Anſwer. The Soveraign Power (not to ſpeak of the *Exerciſe* and *Adminiſtration* of it) may be conſidered, as to the *Original* and *Nature* of it, or as to its *Adeption*, *Acquiſition*, and *Purchaſe*. If we conſider the *Nature* and *Original* of it, 'tis God that raiſeth Kings to that *height* of Soveraign Power which they are inveſted with. *Cyrus* was his *Shepherd*, and the *Roman Emperors* his *Miniſters*. God ſaith, *By me Kings Reign*, and, *I have ſaid ye are Gods*. Their *Power is from God*, and without it they cannot perform their *Office*, and therefore we muſt not cenſure it as *exorbitant*.

As to the *Adeption* and *Purchaſe* of this Power, we eaſily grant that *Uſurpation* can give no *Right*, but to *Damnation* for it. Yet an injur'd Prince may be reduc'd to ſuch Circumſtances, as to conclude it his moſt prudent courſe quietly to ſet down, and conſult his own ſafety, and to wait God's leiſure for the advantage of a ſeaſonable Revolution.

Many *Emergencies* of Providence may fall under Conſideration; the Line of Succeſſion may be cut off, or it may be intangled, and the Title to the Crown Dubious; or the Competitors tir'd out by Time, and the Toyls of War; and having their Paſſions drown'd in a Sea of Blood, may *relent*, and come to a Compaſſionate and Pru-

Prudential *Com-promiſe*. There was great humanity in *Abner's* Argument to *Joab*, and 'twas very perſuaſive and effectual; *Shall the Sword devour for ever? Knoweſt thou not that it will be bitterneſs in the latter end?* 2 Sam. 2. 26.

In extraordinary caſes we muſt ſuffer our ſelves to be over-rul'd by Divine Providence, when we have good Aſſurance that God will have it ſo. But we muſt have a care we do not recede from our bounden Duty, becauſe we meet with the *Croſs* and Affliction in it. Sometimes God will have us, *Wait upon him in the way of his Judgments.* Iſai. 26. 8.

When a ſinful People grows *ripe* for vengeance, ſome there will be, that are fit to make a *Rod*; and commonly, when the *Drudgery* of ſcourging is over, their *Pride*, and *Malice*, makes them fit for nothing but the *Fire*.

Whatever the Diſpenſation be, we ſhould conſider, that, tho God does *tie* up our hands, he does not bind his own. And tho, He does not always diſcloſe his own Counſel, yet *he hath ſhewed thee, O Man, what is good*! And what doth the Lord thy God require of thee? But, *to do Juſtice, and to love Mercy, to fear God, and the King, and not to meddle with the Seditious*, the Men *that are given to change*.

But when a Prince is oppreſs'd by a Potent and prevailing Faction, and condeſcends to a *Dedition* of himſelf, and his Sovereign Intereſt (for the Safety of Himſelf and Subjects) to ſome Friend or Allie, whom He hath invited to his Aſſiſtance; the Power that comes into the hands of ſuch an *Auxiliary* (not by *force*, but by *conſent* upon ſuch a *voluntary ſurrendry*) is *fairly* and *legally* acquired; and he that has it is not to be lookt upon as an *Uſurper*, but as *Poſſeſſor bonæ fidei*, as a Juſt and Rightful Owner of the Soveraignty, and ought not to be reſiſted.

This was the very Case of the *Jewish Nation*; upon the death of *Alexander*, a Contention arose betwixt his two Sons, *Hircanus* and *Aristobulus* about the Kingdom; *Aristobulus*, the younger, gets Possession, & *Hircanus* seeks to the *Romans* for Redress: Makes a *Dedition* of himself, and Party to Them; and to be rescued from the *Usurpation* of a younger Brother, and Fellow-Subjects, *They* choose to subject themselves to a *Confederate*.

V. Hammond *on* Mat. 22. 20. *and note* b.

Such Cases as these do easily decide themselves, and create no difficulty for a Debate: The great question is about a wild and bold *Usurper*, who has no claim at all to enter, besides the colourable Title, which he has purchased by the *success* of his Usurpation.

Of such a *Prosperous Miscreant*, I shall say no more but this, that having been so much a *Knave* as to *usurp* a Power (having thriven so well in the Attempt,) He will not be so much a *Fool* as to suffer Himself to be troden down by them, whom he has got under him; tho he has had the help and service of their own hands for his Advancement. [Nor does Almighty God always clip the Wings of such an *Usurper*'s Power; because He is ordained for Judgment, and must be allow'd a *Sufficient* Power to do his work effectually, upon such as have fitted Themselves for Wrath and Vengeance.]

Habuck. 1. 12.

God in his most Wise and Just Providence is pleas'd to use all fair means to prevent *Tumults* and *Insurrections*; but when Men do *Project* to shake off a Just and Easie *Yoak* by wicked means, either to relieve Themselves from some little Burthens, or to reap some great Advantage thereby; 'tis just and usual with God, eventually to defeat their Design, and to deny a success suitable to their expectation: He will not suffer Them to mend their Condition by their change of Masters, that they may not have that Temptation to invite them to Rebellion. And many times he doth so,

ſo order the Matter, in the Juſtice of his Diſpenſation, that the Condition of the Seditious is made much worſe by their Ingratitude to a gracious Soveraign: The *Fire* comes out of the *Bramble*, and devours not only ſuch *Shrubs*, but the *Cedars* alſo which abet them: When They refuſe the Waters of *Shiloah* which go ſoftly, God threatens to bring upon them a *force of violence* like a *Torrent* and Inundation. Judg. 9. 15. Iſa. 8. 6, 7.

But ſuppoſe the Prince ſhould be a *Tyrant*, and walk by no other Rule then his own Luſt, (for amongſt Factious and Seditious Men this is often the Pretence, tho, in truth, ſeldom the real Grievance;) but, for once, let us ſuppoſe the very worſt: He that makes an Inſurrection to depoſe a Tyrant, if he intends to ſet up Himſelf (and has no juſt Title) He does but *caſt out Devils by* Beelzebub: If he deſigns a *Popular* Government, then in pulling down *one* Tyrant, he ſets up *forty*; I appeal to the Chronicles of *England*, whether the worſt of our *Lawful* Kings, did ever commit ſuch barbarous, and bloody Outrages, as the *Republicans* of the *Rump-Parliament*, and *Cromwell*'s Army?

(6) *Sidney*. This Gentleman goes on and tells us, *That ſuch Uſurpations being ſeldom compaſſed without the ſlaughter of the reigning Perſon or Family, the worſt of all Villanies was thereby rewarded with the moſt glorious Priviledges:* He ſays alſo,

That if ſuch Doctrines were receiv'd they would ſtir up Men to the Deſtruction of Princes with more violence then all the Paſſions that have hitherto raged in the Hearts of the moſt unruly.

Anſwer. 'Tis well known, ſuch *Doctrines* have been too much *preach'd*, too much *receiv'd*, and *practiſed*; and Subjects have been ſtirr'd up to the Deſtruction of their Princes, with a *Helliſh*, which is more then a *Brutiſh* violence.

Have we not had a ſort of Men who have call'd Themſelves a *Parliament*? (The thing Mr. *Sidney* ſo much dotes on, when it is the Peoples Creature;) Would they not have given *Cromwell* the Title of the Lord's Anointed? Did they not court Him to take the Crown, for his great Service of Rebellion and Regicide? We have a Catalogue of their *Committee*, appointed *April.* 9. 1657. The Names of their Perſons are printed in words at length, with their Number 99. Theſe were *choſen* Men, and Men of *Renown*; we have their ſeveral *Speeches* and *Addreſſes* to that effect: They are all compriſed in a little Book, call'd (what in truth it is) *Treaſons Maſter-piece*, printed for *Daniel Major*, at the *Hand* and *Scepter* in *Fleet-ſtreet*, 1680.

I ſhall not follow their example in making my ſelf an *Advocate* for Rebellion, or in giving the Title of God's Anointed to an Uſurper; but to the Honour of Sir *Robert Filmer* be it remembred, That he did never favour an *Uſurper*, never ſided with *Cromwell*, never afforded the leaſt *good look* towards the late Rebellion. And as it highly juſtifies the Zeal of the Loyal Party, who out of a Deteſtation of thoſe Villanies which *Uſurpers* do commit, have declar'd their *Abhorrence* of all *Addreſſes* that look that way, and ingaged their *Lives* and *Fortunes* to ſupport the Crown and to tranſmit the *Deſcent* of it in a right Line, to preſerve *Succeſſion*: So it does as highly *condemn* ſuch as have been, and are ſtill againſt it; who are the very Men that would *reward* the worſt of all *Villanies* with the *moſt glorious Priviledges*.

But it ſeems this *Hector* for *Democracy* had no fondneſs for thoſe *glittering Baits* of Honour and Advantage, which commonly tempt *Uſurpers* to rebel: He loved *Treaſon* (as a *Miſtreſs* without a *Dowry*) purely for *Treaſons* ſake; or elſe he had an *Antipathy* to all *Sovereign Power*, and ſet Himſelf ſtiffly to oppoſe it, because:

cauſe He could not endure that any Man ſhould be a *ſize* above Him in the Government.

(7) *Sidney.* (The Gentleman adds) *That none could be ſafe if ſuch a Reward were propos'd unto Any that could deſtroy Them* (meaning *Princes,*) *That few would be ſo gentle as to ſpare even the Beſt, if by their Deſtruction a wild Uſurper could become God's Anointed, and by the moſt execrable Wickedneſs inveſt Himſelf with that Divine Character.*

Anſwer. 'Tis ſomewhat ſtrange this Gentleman ſhould ſo bitterly inveigh againſt the *Villanies* and *execrable Wickedneſs* of *Uſurpers*, when He confeſſes, He had been ingaged in the *Old Cauſe* (which was Rebellion) from his *Youth*; and was at the very ſame time, when He wrote this Paper, condemned for a *Conſpiracy.*

Quis tulerit Gracchos de Seditione querentes?

But *Rebellion* is as the Sin of *Witchcraft*; and this was one *Symptome* of the *faſcination*; for he writes nothing here but his *own* ſtory, or his own Life and Actions in *Epitome.*

For *Paſſion raging in his unruly Heart, he was not ſo gentle as to ſpare even the beſt of Kings*, tho His own Leige Lord and Sovereign; nor to ſtick at the Perpetration of the *moſt execrable Wickedneſs*, to compaſs His Deſtruction; and as He had a *Hand* in the murder of *one* King, ſo He had his *Head* ingaged in complotting the Ruine of another: But I hope we have ſeen an end of ſuch Atcheivements.

'Tis true ſome Men are *bold* and *daring* in venturing at a Crown: But (that's not a Bait for common teeth to bite at) their ſucceſs does not always anſwer Expectation; inſtead of thoſe *Glorious Priviledges* They aim at, They are many times rewarded with an *Ax* or *Halter.*

He muſt have a very long Arm who attempts to graſp a Crown: To *Aſcend* the Throne, there's more

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in it then *up and Ride*; 'tis possible He that gets his foot into the *Stirrup*, may never be able to *Mount* the Saddle.

He that makes away his lawful Soveraign by a base *Assassination* is odious unto all Men: He becomes a *Terrour* to Himself, He *lives in fear*, and *dyes with infamy*; *Had* Zimri *Peace who slew his Master*?

All the ways which Policy can invent to acquire, and compass (such) *great Enterprizes* (as a witty Gentleman hath observ'd) *are either by open and hostile Forces, or by secret and subtil craft, or with plausible Pretences to delude the People, or with Reason, and Arguments to persuade the Sages and Grandees of a Kingdom; these are the ordinary Engines of Policy.*

To *defeat* a Lawful Prince, and *out Him* of his Kingdom, the *Usurper* must be a Man of great *Temper* and *Conduct*, instructed in all the subtil Arts of Insinuation, with a vast Talent of *Hypocrisie*, and a *cunning Craftiness to deceive*: He must have *a sage and wary Councel, a Fund of Wealth, an Interest of Friends, a Confederacy of Forces, a Magazine of Arms, with Places of Strength for his Shelter and Retreat.*

When He is thus well-provided, (which is the work of an Age to compass) He is still *doubtful* of Success; and in common course of Providence, the odds is *twenty* to one against Him; which puts me in mind of a *Distich*, made upon the *leading Members* of the *Faction* in Forty one,

Princes are we if we prevail,
And Gallant Villains if we fail.

But the greatest *Buckler* and *Safe-guard* of a Prince is the *Divine Favour and Protection*, God can blast the Politicks of the subtilest *Achitophel*, he can *infatuate* the *Usurper*'s Councels, and *defeat* his designs, he can

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confound the *devices* of the Seditious, and *Scatter* the People that delight in War; in a word, He can either *melt* the Heart of the Traitor, or *diſcover* the Conſpiracy.

Great deliverances giveth He unto his King, and hath delivered Charles *his Servant from the* malignant Sword.

Our Soul is eſcaped even as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowler, the Snare is broken, and we are delivered.

Our help ſtandeth in the Name of the Lord our God.

To conclude this *Paragraph*, The Doctrines of this Gentleman and his *Fanatick* Party, are not only *apt* to ſtir up Men to the Deſtruction of Princes, but are *calculated* directly for it; which can never be juſtly charged upon any of our *Maxims*.

For we ſay, the moſt *Legal* and *Juſt* Poſſeſſion of a Crown gives no *Title* to the *Kingdom of Heaven*; and 'tis poſſible a Man may have *the Vial of Holy Oyl poured upon his Head* (which does derive the Title of God's Anointed to Him) and yet want that *Character* of Grace which ſhould fit him for the *Throne* of Glory; what great Temptation then can it poſſibly be imagined, to ſnatch, with ſo much *Hazard* and *Injuſtice*, at the Poſſeſſion of a *Temporal* Crown, when we are told, for certain, that there is no leſs then a *heavy Woe*, and a *bitter Curſe*, and a *dreadful Vengeance*, and a *horrible Damnation*, entail'd upon the *Sacrilegious* Uſurpation; this is our Belief, and the Doctrine we profeſs.

But to animate and inflame their *Godly Party*, they boggle not to call their Rebellion *God's Cauſe*, nor to ſtile ſuch as are engaged in it *God's People*: They are dubb'd *Saints* under the *Banner* of Sedition, and *wheedled* on with the Promiſes of *Glorious Priviledges* in this.

this Life, and if they fall in the Cauſe, they are told, *They die Martyrs*, and have the Kingdom of Heaven *inſured to* Them by their factious Preachers.

He that can believe he may inveſt himſelf with ſuch Divine Characters, and immenſe Advantages, by the moſt execrable wickedneſs of *Rebellion*, how can he be ſo *ſtupid* as to ſtand ſtill, or ſo great a *Coward* as to ſtand out againſt the charms of ſuch ſollicitations?

Sid. This, Mr. *Sidney* ſays, *is the ſcope of the whole Treatiſe* (wherein) *the Writer gives ſuch Reaſons as at preſent did occur unto him to prove it.*

This ſeems (he ſays) *to agree with the Doctrines of the moſt Reverenced Authors, of all Times, Nations and Religions, the beſt and wiſeſt of Kings have ever acknowledged it.*

Anſwer. For the *Rights* of Dominion, the *Meaſures* of Obedience, and the *Iniquity* of Rebellion, the *Reader* may find them better ſtated in ſeveral Books lately publiſhed, then in Mr. *Sidney*'s Papers.

The *French King*, no doubt, is an Enemy to *Uſurpation*, and ſo was King *James*: But they are brought in here ſpeaking (*thus*) to another purpoſe.

Sid. *The preſent King of* France *hath declared, That Kings have that happy want of Power, that they can do nothing contrary to the Laws of their Country; and grounds his quarrel with the King of* Spain, 1667. *upon that Principle. King* James *in his Speech to the Parliament*, Anno 1603. *doth in the higheſt degree aſſert it; the Scripture ſeems to declare it.*

Anſwer. The Scripture doth ſo fully and ſo expreſly aſſert the *Rights* and *uncontroulable* Power of Princes, that this Gentleman dares not rely upon their Authority, but only ſays, *they ſeem* to declare the contrary.

He that is ſo taken with the *French* Kings *Compliment*

ment may have leave, for ought I know, to be so happy as to settle himself under his Dominion.

King *James* said no more in that matter than what his *Successors* have exactly practised; what great oppressions can *They* be justly charged with? What real grievances have They not redressed? What have They done that concerns the Publick, which some great Lawyers have not justified to be consonant to Their *Prerogative*, with the *Laws* and *Customs* of this Kingdom? We should do well to remember the *Bill* for *Ship-Money*, and the *Petition of Right*; to forget the *High-Commission*, *the Star-Chamber*, *and the Court of Wards*, were too foul and shameless an ingratitude; to name no more, was the *Habeas Corpus* Act, a raising the *Prerogative* to an *exorbitant height*? Or the *Effort* of an *Arbitrary Power*? What our Saviour said unto the *Jews*, *Many good works have I shewn you from my Father, for which of those works do you stone me*? The like may the King apply to his peevish and stubborn Subjects, *Many Acts of Grace have I passed in favour of you; for which of those do ye conspire against me?* For the truth is, He hath stript himself so much of his *Prerogative*, that a more *sober* Generation may become so *Wise* and *Dutiful*, as to think some *Act of Resumption* needful to support the Government: And if our blessed Lord should think fit to send an *Epistle* to King *Charles* the Second, doubtless some of the *Contents* would be such as were sent to the Angel of the Church of *Philadelphia*, *These things saith He that is Holy, He that is True, He that hath the Key of* David, &c. *Hold that fast which thou hast, that no Man take thy Crown.* Apoc. 3. 11.

[But there are a Generation of *Murmurers and Complainers, walking after their own lusts, and their Mouth speaketh great swelling words, having Mens Persons in admiration, because of advantage.* These delight to Jude *Epist. V.* 16.

transform their Governours into *Monſters*, and dea by them as the *Perſecuters* of old did by the beſt of *Chriſtians*, whom they *clothed in the Skins of wild Beaſts, to animate the Dogs to tear them.*

To this Purpoſe, 'tis well obſerv'd by the Gentlemen of the *long Robe*, who managed the charge againſt Him, That whatſoever is ſaid (in his Book) of the Expulſion of *Tarquin*; the Inſurrection againſt *Nero*; the ſlaughter of *Caligula*, or *Domitian*; The *Tranſlation* of the Crown of *France*, from *Meroveus* his Race unto *Pepin*; and from his Deſcendants unto *Hugh Capet*, and the like are applied by *Innuendo*'s unto the King; For tho he did not literally, and expreſly make the King concerned in them yet, he could not forbear to read his own riddle, and tell the World what uſe was to be made of thoſe Examples.

For, of ſuch tranſlations of the Crown, of ſuch Expulſions, Inſurrections, and Slaughters, he tells ſuch as he thinks fit to inform; That,

(*Sid.*) *They have not conſidered, that if ſuch Acts of State be not good, there is not a King in the World that has any Title to the Crown he bears; nor can have any, unleſs He could deduce his Pedigree from the Eldeſt Son of* Noah, *and ſhew that the Succeſſion had ſtill continued in the Eldeſt of the Eldeſt Line, and been ſo deduced to him.*

Anſwer. This Gentleman, is in a great miſtake about the Sons of *Noah*; For, though in all the *Line* before Him there were none of the Sons and Daughters mentioned, but the *Elder* Son only, yet when He comes to *Noah*'s Poſterity, he mentions his Three Sons by Name. *Noah* begat *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, and herein He obſerves not the *Order* of *Nature*, but mentions the *younger* firſt, alluding to his *Dignity*; for indeed they were to be ſo many Abſolute and Independent Princes, as well as Heads of diſtinct Families;

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wherefore having reckoned them up in Order with their Iſſue, *Moſes* concludes thus, *Theſe are the Families of the Sons of* Noah *after their Generations, in their Nations; and by theſe were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood.* See Gen. 5. & 10 Chapters.

Having intimated thus much for clearing that miſtake, we may obſerve plainly, that 'tis his Deſign, to *queſtion*, and *ſhake* all the *Crowns* in Chriſtendom, and to render their *Tenure* dubious; that from the uncertainty of their Title, the People may have ſome excuſe to Rebel, & the better colour to Depoſe their Soveraigns.

And yet, He pretends herein to do all Princes a great kindneſs. That we may underſtand his meaning, his words are theſe:

Sid. *Every one may ſee what advantage this would be to all the Kings of the World; and whether that failing,* (He means that *Elder Line* failing) *it were not better for them to acknowledge they had received their Crowns by the conſent of willing Nations, or to have no better Title to them, then Uſurpation and Violence, which by the ſame ways may be taken from them.*

Anſwer. 'Tis true; for all Hiſtory tells us, That Thrones and Scepters have been frequently tranſlated from one Line and Family to another; nor can it be denied, that through God's *permiſſion*, and for ſome *juſt ends* of Providence, the *Acquiſition* of *Dominion*, or the *Purchaſe* and *Poſſeſſion* of a *Crown*, may be attempted by *ill means*, and the *Adminiſtration* of it may be *culpable* too: Yet, for all this, the *Soveraign Power* it ſelf, is *God's Ordinance*, and He that is inveſted with it, *God's Miniſter*; and being *duely* ſettled, (that He may not be found to be *malæ fidei Poſſeſſor*; but legally eſtabliſhed) proceſs of Time gives Him a fair *Preſcription*: And then his *Perſon* and *Authority* (which make up the *Magiſtrate* or *Soveraign*) are not to be violated.

Where the *Wiſdom*, *Power*, and *Juſtice* of Almighty God (in his Providence, over Humane Affairs) are acknowledged and had in *Veneration*, that is, where *Religion* bears ſway; there this Doctrine is ſtedfaſtly believed.

'Tis ſuggeſted by a *Parliament*, (25 *Hen.*8. C.22.) That *the Great and inviolable Grants of Juriſdictions to* Emperors, Kings, and Princes *in Succeſſion to their Heirs* (are) *by God immediately.*

'Tis certain, of all the ways of coming to the Crown, That of *Succeſſion by Inheritance* is the moſt *Natural* and carries *the cleareſt Stamp and Impreſſion of Divine Right.* 'Tis the moſt *ſteady*, *ſecure*, and *eaſy*, to the *Prince*; the moſt *quiet*, *ſafe*, and *beneficial* to the *Subject*, and, all things weigh'd in an even Ballance, 'tis the moſt *happy* to Them *both.*

Wherefore all Wiſe, and ſober Men do highly value this Title of *Succeſſion*: They are moſt indear'd to it, and ſtudy to preſerve it. Such as do otherwiſe, are the *Haughty*, and *Ambitious*, who may emulate, but cannot truly love their *Soveraign*, and if They be, upon any Account, obnoxious to his Juſtice, They look upon him with a timorous ſuſpicion, and their Jealouſie keeps Them always on their Guard. And becauſe, They think they cannot defend themſelves againſt Him otherwiſe, They are continually in Agitation, by one means or other, to depreſs and weaken Him, till They have brought Him ſo low, that they are able to tread Him under; and then (if they can ſet Him aſide, to ſecure their own Crimes, and gratifie their Ambition) They take the *Sovereign Power* into their own Poſſeſſion.

For other Sorts of Men, who are apt to diſturb the Government by Succeſſion, they are either *Poor and Indigent*, whoſe Neceſſities make them Keen and Eager

to

to fish in troubled Waters: Or the *Malipert* and *Froward*, who are stimulated by their own Malice, Discontent, and Envy, to fly in the face of their Superiors: or lastly, the *Fanatical* and *New-fangled*, whose humour does very much resemble that of fond and wayward Children, who long for the Approach of a *New Fair*, tho commonly it brings Them home no other Prize, then a *New Nothing*.

Such Men as are carried by the *Byas* of their own Inclination to disturb the Government and Succession, will be forward enough, no doubt, to *wheadle* others into their Conspiracy.

The guilded *Hook*, with the surprizing *Bait*, They usually throw out to this effect, is the false and cheating, the Plausible Pretence of *Liberty* and *Reformation*. And to make this seem no less needful then Reasonable, tho really they are only the Laws in force that grieve them, as checking their attempts of Innovation:) They suggest, with all the Malice and Artifice they can, the danger of an *Arbitrary Power*, and the *Change of our Religion*, which no Body but themselves can see, because none but themselves do infallibly design to introduce them.

But to return from this short (tho not impertinent) digression, this Gentleman has no Fancy to the *Divine Right* of Government, and therefore He would advise Princes to *lay aside* that *Plea*; and to take a *Title* from *the consent of willing Nations*. This I confess would suit best with his Design and Purpose; it would much *weaken* the Prince's claim and Interest; for that Dominion is but *Precarious* which is founded on the Grace and favour of the People; for such as have but little *veneration* for the Government, when they are told 'tis undoubtedly *God's Ordinance*, will have much less, when they know it is nothing but their own, and they

will

will be the more ready to throw it off with *Scorn and Violence*, upon all Occaſions.

His *willing Nation* may ſet up a *Rump-Parliament*, or (which is all one,) may chooſe a *Factious Party*, that will turn out, all *Loyal and Sober Members*, and ſet up Themſelves: And then 'tis poſſible, They may imagine miſchief and fall into a Conſult, *How to caſt Him down from his Excellency, whom God will exalt.*

Pſal. 62. 3, 4.

Such a Faction among the *Jews* ſhamefully rejected their *Meſſias, the King of Saints*; becauſe he did not appear in ſuch a State of *Splendour*, as might gratifie their Pride and Carnal Luſts: they took up this Reſolution: *Nolumus Hunc Regnare*, We will not have this Man to Reign over us. And tho they knew Him to be the *Right Heir*, yet they paſs'd this Vote againſt Him, *Come let us kill Him and ſeize upon his Inheritance.* This is a moſt certain Truth, the right humour of this Gentleman's *Willing-Nation*; and after the Example of our Saviour, we have the *Experience* of our own Times to make it plain and evident.

Sid. This Gentleman pleads further, *That, if nevertheleſs the Writer was miſtaken, he might have been refuted by Law, Reaſon, and Scripture; and no Man for ſuch matters was ever otherwiſe puniſhed, than by being made to ſee his Error; and it hath not (as I think) been ever known, that they had been referred to the Judgment of a Jury, compoſed of Men utterly unable to comprehend them.*

Anſwer. Matters of *harmleſs Speculation* ('tis true) we may freely debate of, *pro* and *con*, for diverſion and diſcourſe; but for ſuch Doctrines as are pernicious to the *Crowns*, and *Lives of Princes*, he that writes them with the *point* of his Sword in *Blood*, as Mr. *Sidney* hath done; and after the murder of *one* Prince, and the happy Reſtauration of *another*, does ſtill advance

vance the ſame Doctrines to animate the Party to a *freſh Rebellion*, whatever Arguments are uſed to refute the Errour, 'tis the juſteſt Law, and the higheſt Reaſon imaginable, that ſuch a Perſon, ſhould be referr'd to the Judgment of a Jury for his Conviction; and 'tis not his bold charge (againſt the Officers of Juſtice,) [that the *Pannel* are not able to comprehend his Politicks] that will impeach their *Verdict*.

Sid. The Gentleman goes on thus, *But there was little of this in my caſe; the extravagance of my Proſecutors goes higher: The above mentioned Treatiſe was never finiſhed, nor could be in many years, and moſt probably would never have been. So much as is of it, was written long ſince, never reviewed nor ſhewn unto any Man; and the Fiftieth Part of it was produc'd; and not the Tenth of that offer'd to be read. That which was never known unto thoſe, who are ſaid to have conſpired with me, was ſaid to be intended to ſtir up the People in Proſecution of the Deſigns of thoſe Conſpirators.*

When nothing of particular Application unto Time, Place, or Perſon could be found in it; (as hath ever been done by thoſe who endeavour'd to raiſe Inſurrections) all was ſupplyed by Innuendo's.

Anſwer. That He made not an *end* of his Treatiſe might be, becauſe Hefound the Task too hard, and therefore the *knots* He could not *untie* he reſolv'd to *cut aſunder*.

Or perhaps He might be *impatient* of delay, and having *confirm'd* his Doctrine as well as He could, He made haſte to come to *Application*; and having laid down this for his *Major Propoſition*, That *all Tyrants are to be deſtroyed*; he was well aſſur'd *His Party* knew his meaning by his *conferences*, and would take the *Minor* for granted, and ſo fall on with *Rage* and *Malice* to make the *Concluſion* by force of Arms. That

That the *whole* Treatiſe was not read was a pitriful *Cavil*. We know Gentlemen are not at leiſure to read whole *Volumes* when they ſit in a *Court* of Juſtice. Beſides, if the Devil himſelf were to write a Book, no doubt there would be ſomething good in it. And whereas He talks of *Innuendo*'s, as if He could not be reach'd without a diſtant, and *far-fetcht* inference, there was enough produc'd at his Tryal, *in words at length* to do his buſineſs.

See Tryal, *p.* 23, 24, 25.

Sid. But He ſays, *I was long ſince told, that I muſt die, or the Plot muſt die.*

Anſwer. Having been ſo long and ſo well acquainted with the *Good Old Cauſe*, and having eſpous'd the late *Plot* which was the *Daughter* of it, 'tis pity that any thing ſhould *divorce* them, that as they long had liv'd, ſo they ſhould at laſt have died together.

Sid. *Leſt the means of deſtroying the Beſt Proteſtants in* England *ſhould fail, the Bench muſt be filled with ſuch as had been Blemiſhes to the Bar.*

None but ſuch as theſe would have adviſed with the King's Council; of the means of bringing a Man to Death; ſuffered a Jury to be packed by the King's Sollicitor, and the under Sheriff; admit of Jury-Men who are not Free-holders; receive ſuch Evidence as is above mentioned; refuſe a Copy of an Indictment, or to ſuffer the Statute of 46. Edw. 3. *To be read, that doth expreſly enact, It ſhould in no caſe be denied unto any Man upon any Occaſion whatſoever; over-rule the moſt important Points of Law without hearing. And whereas the Stat.* 25. Edw. 3. *upon which they ſaid I ſhould be Tried, doth reſerve unto the Parliament all Conſtructions to be made in Points of Treaſon, They could aſſume unto Themſelves not only a Power to make Conſtructions; but ſuch Conſtructions as neither agree with Law, Reaſon, or common Senſe.*

Anſwer.

Answer. 'Tis nothing strange, that a Person who *despises Dominion*, should *speak evil of Dignities*; yet our Rule is expres to the contrary; *Thou shalt not revile the Gods* (or *Judges*) *nor Curse the Ruler of thy People*; nor is it consonant to that Spirit of *Meekness*, which the Laws of our Christianity commend unto us; He might have learn'd a better Lesson, not only from Our Blessed Saviour, who was *as a Lamb dumb before the Shearer*; but from *Michael* also the *Arch-Angel*, who tho He had a sharp contest with the *Devil* about the Body of *Moses* (which might be the *Common-wealth of* Israel, his Body *Politick*) yet He *durst not bring against Him a railing Accusation.* Exod. 22. 28.

The Proceedings He complains of, no doubt were Just and Legal: But these Men have diverse Weights and Measures, an *Epha* and an *Epha*; and are loth to be tryed by the same Rules, which they use to condemn others by. When they bring before the Bar such as they malign, no Proceedings can be severe enough; but, when it comes to their own Turn, that Justice is meted out to them according to their own measure, then they complain, 'tis too severe and rigorous; *neither agreeable with Law, Reason or Common Sense*; But the Pen and Tongue of a Malefactor are no slander to his Judges.

Mr. *Sidney* closes his Paper thus: *By these means I am brought to this Place. The Lord forgive these Practices, and avert the Evils that threaten the Nation from them. The Lord Sanctifie these my sufferings unto me; and though I fall as a Sacrifice unto Idols, suffer not Idolatry to be established in this Land. Bless thy People, and save them. Defend thy own Cause, and defend those that defend it. Stir up such as are faint; Direct those that are willing; Confirm those that waver. Give Wisdom and Integrity unto all. Order all things so as*

may most redound unto thine own Glory. Grant that I may die glorifying Thee for all thy Mercies; and that at the last, Thou hast permitted me to be singled out as a Witness of thy Truth; and even by the Confession of my Oppossers, for that Old Cause, *in which I was from my Youth engaged; and for which Thou hast often and wonderfully declared thy self.*

Answer. Who can expect, that an humble, and well temper'd Prayer, should follow such a Preface, as we met withal in the last Paragraph of his Paper?

Though He was very *early* engaged in the late Rebellion, yet I hope he did not *Covenant against Repentance*, though he gives us little or nothing of the fruits or signs of it. [He seems to have so much of the *Pharisee* in his Moral constitution, as to over-look all his own faults. Offences against his Prince he will not own; and, as if there had been no *guilt* upon Him in the *sight of God*, He scorns to own such an *ungenerous* Practice as to ask *His* Pardon.]

Yet, They were the Principles, which He profess'd and practis'd, that did both threaten and afflict the Nation; but having at last brought Him to the Block with several of the Accomplices to their deserved execution, we hope, the Justice which has been done upon them, will be a means to avert those Evils, which their wicked *Pursuits* would have brought upon us.

He says, *He falls a Sacrifice to Idols*; but what *Idols* He has not told us; but St. *Paul* tells us, *We know, that an Idol is nothing in the World.* But let Him take that, if He please, for St. *Austin*'s Nothing, and that is nothing else but *Sin*; and in that Sense, indeed He fell *a Sacrifice to Idols*; that is, to his own *Treason* and *Conspiracy*, which are the *Idols* He persuades *His Party* still to *support* and *serve*. What

1 Cor. 8. 4.

What means He elſe by Praying for the *Proſperity of that Cauſe* which hath fill'd the Nation with *Blood and Violence*, and has been an *Aſtoniſhment* to the whole World? Though he might have his *Religion* to chooſe, (profeſſing none either on the *Scaffold*, or in his *Paper*,) yet, herein he plays the Part of a fond *Idolater*, and call'd upon the Lord to abet his Party in the *eſtabliſhment* of that *Moloch*; and indeed what better Religion could be expected from him, who, if report has not bely'd Him,) made choice of *Tully* for his *Evangeliſt*, and his *Offices* for the *Goſpel* of his Salvation, to conduct his thoughts to the Joys and Comforts of another life.

He concludes his Paper with a kind of Ἐπινίκιον or *triumphant Conſolation*, but He deludes Himſelf, more like a *Turk* than a *Chriſtian*, by the miſconſtruction of *ſucceſs*, and the dubious *Events* of Providence.

He Flatters Almighty God into Their Party, and tells Him, *Thou haſt often and wonderfully declar'd thy ſelf for that* Old Cauſe *in which I was from my youth engaged.*

He ſhould have conſidered, That the Devil's *Device* and *Malice* may be in the *Conſpiracy*, tho God is pleas'd to *Declare* Himſelf in the *Inſurrection* that inſues it.

David was under a very ſad Diſpenſation, when He was forc'd to flee out of *Jeruſalem*, to make his eſcape from the Sword of *Abſolom*, when He went up by the *Aſcent of Mount* Olivet, *He wept as He went up, and his Head covered, and he went bare foot: And all the People that was with Him, covered every Man his Head, and they went up weeping as they went up*; They were uncertain whether they ſhould ever return again to *Jeruſalem*; The good King might have taken up that Lamentation, *Lord where are thy old loving kindeſſes which thou ſwareſt unto* David *in thy* 2 Sam. 15.

Truth? Thou haſt overthrown all his Hedges, and driven Him from his ſtrong-holds. All they that go by ſpoil Him, and He is become a rebuke to His Neighbours: Thou haſt ſet up the right Hand of His Enemies, and made all his Adverſaries to rejoyce, Thou haſt put out his Glory and caſt His Crown down to the Ground.

Pſal. 98.

The Kings condition we ſee was very ſad, and he was reduc'd to great ſtraits and hardſhip; yet, for all this, *Achitophel* was a *Traitor*, and *Abſolom* a *Rebel*, tho they might flatter Themſelves with fair hopes of Victory, yet the guilt in both was Damnable.

But rather then they ſhould go unpuniſhed, a ſenſeleſs *Oak* became an Eſquire *Ketch* to the *Ambitious Rebel*, and his own *Beaſt* turn'd Him off, and left him dangling betwixt Heaven and Earth in torments; and the *crafty Traitor* (who had been of the *Privy Council* to the Pious King) turn'd ſo *Loyal an Officer* to juſt vengeance, that He became his own *Executioner*.

But did God really ſo *often*, and ſo *wonderfully* declare Himſelf for that Cauſe? Was that *Declaration* made by an *Oracle*? Or a *Voice from Heaven*? Or only by the *Effects of Providence*? And what *Commentaries* have they to teach them the *meaning* of ſuch Divine Declarations? Why, God declar'd Himſelf all the ways forementioned, for the *Arraignment and Proſecution* of his beloved Son. When *both* Herod, *and* Pontius Pilate *with the Gentiles and the People of* Iſrael, *were gathered together againſt the Holy Child Jeſus, whom God had anointed*; the Holy Text ſays, *God had his own Counſel, and hand amongſt them.* And yet our Saviour tells them plainly, They acted by the inſtigation of the Devil; *This is your hour, and the Power of darkneſs.*

Acts 4. 27, 28.

Luke 22. 53.

And I pray tell me, were not all the *Methods* and *Devices* of Satan *legible* in the *Practice* and *Proceeding*

ding of that *Fanatick Faction*, againſt our King of ever bleſſed Memory? Was not that *Old Cauſe* managed by Hypocriſy and Fraud, and carryed on by Lyes and Slanders, Leagues, and Perjuries, by Sedition and Sacriledge, by Blood and Violence? And are not theſe the notorious works of the Devil?

But on the other ſide; In the *defeat* of that *Old Cauſe*, God declar'd Himſelf, not only *Wiſe* and *Juſt*, but *merciful* and *Gracious* to a *Miracle*. This appear'd, not only to the Joy and Satisfaction of the *Loyal*; but alſo, to the Surprize and Aſtoniſhment of the *Rebel-Party*; and it was *evident*, as well in the ſudden and *unexpected* Atcheivement, as in the *little*, or *no viſible means* at all, to effect it.

The Song of the *Pſalmiſt* was then ours, *When the Lord turned our Captivity, then were we like unto them that dream*; His Majeſty's happy return to his Kingdoms, was to us, a *Reſurrection*, and (like the *Reſtitution* of the Jewiſh Nation) *Life from the Dead*. Rom. 11. 15.

The Church therefore doth worthily celebrate this His Majeſties *Reſtauration* as *Miraculous*; and beſides all other *Wonders* that attended, we have *An Act of Parliament* to warrant it.

The Firſt *Collect* for *May* 29. is: *O Lord God of Our Salvation, who haſt been exceedingly Gracious unto this Land, and by thy* Miraculous *Providence haſt delivered us out of our late miſerable Confuſions, by Reſtoring to us our Dread Soveraign Lord, thy Servant, King* Charles; *We are now here before thee with all due thankfulneſs, to acknowledge thine unſpeakable Goodneſs this Day ſhewed unto Us; and to offer up our Sacrifices of Praiſe unto thy Glorious Name, humbly beſeeching thee to accept this our unfeigned, though unworthy Oblation of our ſelves; vowing all Holy Obedience in Thought, Word,*

Word, and Work, unto thy Divine Majesty; and promising in thee, and for thee, all Loyal and Dutiful Allegiance to thine Anointed Servant, and to his Heirs after Him: Whom we beseech thee to bless with all increase of Grace, Honour, and Happiness in this World, and to Crown Him with Immortality and Glory in the World to come; for Jesus Christ his sake, our onely Lord and Saviour. Amen.

FINIS.

UMI